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534 177 [24] The dwelling may contain a musical instrument or two not necessarily connected with ritual, a one-stringed violin (probably inspired by European models), and more infrequently a flute.

361 621 [602] The elaborate system of affinal avoidances makes it expedient to allow some space between the home of the man who joins the encampment and those of his wife's relatives. Therefore, a distance of two or three hundred paces may separate two dwellings. Each family is afforded privacy, yet relatives and neighbors are near enough in case of danger. The comparative independence of each home is further safeguarded by the nature of the country, by natural barriers which often conceal one dwelling from the next, even though the distance which separates them is not great.

[721] [312] Because these people raid surrounding groups as a regular course, they have reason to fear retaliation and therefore seek to conceal their habitations as much as possible. Desirable locations must be near enough to streams and springs to insure an adequate water supply and close to the highlands so that foes can be led into a fruitless and wearying search through the hills.

361 484 221 [433] [538] The possessions, the materials from which they are made, and the uses which they imply make it plain that the food economy is based on the wild animals and plants of the region and that the people must be ready to follow a seasonal food quest and to remove to a new locality when it becomes apparent that hunting or gathering is more rewarding there. A popular folk tale, explicable in terms of this life, tells how a man becomes separated from the members of his family and seeks to rejoin them, passing camp site after camp site which they have abandoned, until he finally overtakes them. Other accounts describe the frequent movements of the people, with those who have no horses carrying their goods and their children.

361 621 596 [433] [571] Sometimes a single household goes off alone on an economic errand and even remains by itself for some time. But, ordinarily, the extended family breaks camp and moves as a body. It can, therefore, be called the smallest unit prepared to maintain a separate economic existence for any length of time. Thus, even in the midst of the nomadic phase of his life, the most significant social bonds remain undisturbed for the individual.

Despite constant movement, population tends to concentrate

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When they are just beginning to talk about the ceremony, the girl goes to the woman who is going to take care of her. She brings an eagle feather to this woman. The girl holds the butt end and motions four times with the tip end of the feather toward the woman. The woman takes it the fourth time. Then the woman will take care of the girl. She will rub her and push her out to run. 881 793

Right from this time the girl calls that woman "mother," even though she is no relative, and this woman calls the girl "my daughter." And they give each other presents throughout life. [571] [431] [608]

The most conspicuous ritualist of the ceremony is one who will be called "the singer" because it is his primary task to superintend the erection of the sacred shelter in which the songs of the rite are chanted and to sing the songs. 881 793 533

The role of the singer also hovers on the border line between shamanism and priestcraft. He does not depend on a personal supernatural encounter for obtaining his songs, nor does he believe that he can intercede for the benefit of the girl through impromptu appeals to supernatural forces with which he is in special rapport: [787]

I became a singer just through experience. I was interested. Every chance I got I sat inside the tepee and sang the songs. I went to the ceremony every time and learned the songs. I connected myself with this ceremony over forty years ago and learned it from the ground up. I approached one of the men who conducted the ceremony and asked for help. The one who is learning to be a singer gets instruction right at the ceremony. When he has enough experience, he conducts it himself. It is very simple. The prayers don't take long to learn. In the course of two or three ceremonies, even, the songs can be learned. I gave no payment to the one who instructed me.

The fact that no payment passed between this man and the one who taught him the songs is convincing proof that the songs are not a personal shamanistic possession but are conceived of as the sacred property of the people as a whole. A shaman seldom parts with his ceremony unless appropriate payment is made both to him and to the supernatural source involved. [424] [756]

In the selection of the singer the greatest forethought is exercised:

Well, suppose you were an Indian here and you had a granddaughter who was growing up. You would come around and say that you wanted your granddaughter to be White Painted Woman. You know me very well, and you say to me, "There are three or four men who know how to sing for this ceremony. Just

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621 582 602 those who camped together all the time, until they became so intermarried that the younger people were really relatives, and then men had to go elsewhere for wives." And yet, the better chance of the young people of the same district to become acquainted, the fluidity of the local group over the years, and the tendency to forget quickly remoter kin who are deceased make it possible for many of the youths to find eligible mates in their own local groups and to strengthen the ties between the resident families.

582 621 602 571 [596] Even when the extended families united by the marriage of their younger members do not reside in the same local group, they are drawn into closer understanding by these marital arrangements:

> If a man of one local group marries a woman of another, his kin do not consider themselves related to his wife's people. But there is a relationship of mutual friendliness and help which is set up between the two families. If someone of the family of the boy is giving a tiswin party or a social dance, the members of the other family are sure to be invited. The relationship is expressed by this term, "friends we have become." If a person uses this of another, it is understood that they are friends because of the marriage of a relative of one to a relative of the other. This word can be used for other things. You can say, using it, "Because he gave me something, we have become friends," but in this case the reason for the friendship has to be expressed. If the word is used alone, it gives the idea of friendship through marriage.
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> N. is on especially friendly terms with D. and his family. He borrows their property and can get help there any time. Yet N. and D. are not relatives. They have no right to call each other anything. It is because N.'s sister married D.'s brother; their relatives have married. This is a good example of "friends we have become."

621 602 591 When two families whose members marry live in the same local group, the benefits of the new bond are not difficult to exploit. This is less simple when the families are separated by some distance. Consequently, there is a tendency for intermarried families to make the logical adjustments. "The family of a married man would be very likely to locate near the family of the girl he married, because they considered themselves bound by ties of friendship. They would all be in the same local group, camping in the same general region."

Obviously, this is no rule which can be strictly followed. Where a number of sons marry into separated groups, a choice

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That shaman knows my wife is worse. He knows she got sick just before his boy died. We moved over there and had our camp near his. He didn't do anything. I've done a lot for that man. I gave him a steer when his daughter had her puberty rite. I've taken him other food. He thinks I should keep right on doing things for him.

Often the service that a shaman has rendered his client is the basis for closer friendly relations. Although the process is informal, this bond is an important one for many individuals. "There is no set rule that a cured patient is under obligation to a shaman, but sometimes a person himself feels that way."

Where a ceremony ends in failure, the shaman does not suffer irreparable injury to his reputation unless he has expressed himself too confidently concerning a favorable outcome. The result may be attributed to the fact that the shaman was not called in time or to the strength of an opposing witch. The ultimate effects of the rite are not always at once obvious, though it is hoped that the ceremony will pave the way for steady recovery. Should that recovery lag, it may be accounted for by the patient's carelessness in the wearing of the protective amulet, or by his failure to observe strictly the taboos. That a shaman may succeed in one case and not in another is conceded. To "try" the ceremonies of a number of practitioners before relief from some tenacious ailment is obtained has been the experience of a large percentage of adults at some time in their lives.

CEREMONIALISM IN ACTION; OBTAINING AND USING POWER

Mountain People.—The functions of the Mountain People and of their most important representatives, the Mountain Spirits, are well illustrated in the myths. One tale describes the curing of two children, one legless and one blind. Abandoned, these two try vainly to follow their people. The blind boy carries the cripple and is guided by his directions. Then the Mountain People appear and conduct the boys to their "home."

Many people lived in that mountain. They dressed all kinds of Mountain Spirits for these boys. They prayed and began to sing. There were women in the mountain too. The women made the sound, the cry of applause, as they do at the big tepee during the girl's puberty rite now.

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practice of ritual, the distribution that this fosters is constant 465
and equitable.

It is gift-giving that largely takes the place of trade, though 431
the difference is mostly one of phrasing. There is the feeling that exchanges should depend upon an implicit reciprocity to be worked out in individual relations rather than in terms of declared measures of value. One speaks of "giving" instead of "selling." But it is understood that generosity begets generosity and that a man loses nothing by kindness to his neighbors. Thus [867]
a father caps advice to his son with this admonition: "Do not be [577]
stingy and mean. Treat people right. Give half of what you have. Then you will be invited to feasts and get presents."

The openhanded individual builds up a fund of friends who 431
will serve him in good stead whenever he needs assistance, mate- 571
rial or moral. One informant told how a member of a certain 572
family gave gifts to his wife. "Now they are our friends" was his comment. The implication is that some gesture on his part will be forthcoming later, for this is an almost inevitable consequence of friendship initiated in this way.

Reputation and social standing are significantly related to 554
generosity, and, even if the individual gains no more than added 431
prestige, he does not regret his philanthropy:

> Gifts are given because we are sympathetic to one another. If someone needs food, we help him in a material way, for we feel that we are one people. We feel that way to a man who is poor. Giving is a great thing to the Chiricahua. A man can make a great reputation by giving.

Acceptance of a gift is felt by the receiver as a claim upon him 431
to be adjusted in his own time and way:

> You are ashamed to borrow a horse, a bow, or other things, for that shows [426]
> that you are not a real man and have not been on the raid and obtained things for yourself. To start out, the young man would be given the necessities. Giving is a great thing with us. I don't think there was much selling in the old days, but [432]
> there was always lots of giving.
>
> Even now there is not much selling. I could walk up to any man and ask for a horse. Even though I don't know him well I have a good chance of getting it. I've been offered horses. C. offered me a horse, but I never took it. I didn't take it because I did not want to feel under obligation to him. He just offered it to show his friendship. This was done in the old days a great deal.

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526 The hoop-and-pole game was handed down from the animals when they were
773 people. They used to play it. The hoop-and-pole game comes from the four-
[825] footed animals like the bear [i.e., the dangerous ones] and also from the snake. During the time the snakes were people they made the game. In ceremonies the pole is referred to as a snake. This is done in the snake ceremony.

526 The hoop-and-pole ground is as much a meeting place where
571 masculine concerns are discussed and planned as it is a field of
[521] play. Here the men come together in easy companionship, free of the inhibitions imposed by the presence of women. It is little wonder that one commentator declared, "The hoop-and-pole ground is like a pool hall." An air of informality and good humor pervades the scene, and much jesting and story-telling are always in progress.

526 Often musical instruments, such as the musical bow, are
534 played at this spot:

There is something we do around the hoop-and-pole game. A man takes a bow, just the regular fighting bow, and tightens it up. He puts one end in his mouth and hits the string with an arrow. Men enjoy doing this and are interested in it. They can make a sound like Chiricahua songs. A man can do this anywhere, but you see it mostly at the hoop-and-pole ground when the men are by themselves and enjoying themselves.

534 Another musical instrument, made and played by men, is fre-
[526] quently seen at the hoop-and-pole ground, although it is not limited in use to this place. This is the "wood that sings" or the Apache fiddle,[9] a hollow wooden cylinder about twelve to eighteen inches long with one sinew string stretched over its surface. The bow is approximately the same length and is strung with horsehair. A single peg controls the tension and pitch of the

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[903] the point was not yet decided, they devised this game and played, but still neither could win, for their power was equally strong. The people took it up and still play it, but consider it sacred."

Two other informants who were consulted, however, claimed to know nothing about a relation between the game and its parts and the snake.

[177] [9] It is certain that these "violins" are modeled after stringed instruments introduced into the region by Europeans, but they have been made by the men of this tribe for some time now. One of the oldest members, a skilful maker of these instruments, stated: "We made it from the oldest times. I think it was the Chiricahua's own invention because it was common in my boyhood."

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554 A personal enemy might class you the other way, but you would be prominent enough so that his motive would be apparent.

554 591 598 The conception of status conditions the amount of deference an individual expects and the degree to which it is thought seemly for him to take part in public affairs:

I nearly had some trouble with B. Some of her sheep had got mixed in with L.'s and mine, and there was some question about range. She got angry right away and came over and began to talk about the fact that she comes from good blood. She was referring to her relationship to Mangus, a leader of the old times. She did this to remind L., who is related to a leader's son, that she is as good as he is.

Another man described an occasion when his father publicly rebuked him for voicing opposition to a leader, the son of a man of rank:

My father scolded me right there. He said, "You are not a leading man here, and yet you try to find out all these things. You should not put yourself in."

I got up again to answer him. I told them all, "I am not a leading man. I don't pretend to be. But I am here and I don't want to be misled. I defend my family."

622 554 It is from the group of well-born and politically conscious individuals that the leaders are drawn. But family origin, while it does confer status unless there is some grave personal disability, does not determine political rank:

If the son of a leader is qualified, it is easier for him to become a leader. But it doesn't have to work that way. It's queer; I don't know just how to explain it. But those who become leaders are smarter. They are willing to come out and say what they think. I notice it here. Some people get the idea that it is handed down from father to son or from one relative to another. This is not so. Ability in war and wisdom make the leader. It's easier to get to the front if you are a good fighter. Yet some people, though they were good fighters, never became leaders. So I think it is a matter of smartness more than anything else. The leader is not chosen; he is just recognized. A leader might have a son who is not much good. That boy would not be recognized as a leader then.

The leader has no absolute control. What the white man calls a chief is really only a natural leader. Because of his skill and ability, men look up to him. If his son is as good as he is, that boy is recognized as a leading man in time. Otherwise he is not looked on as a leader. S. has more influence than N. or G., though the fathers of both of these men were leaders. Even I have more influence than these men. That's the way it looks to me in regard to this leader matter. I think a man becomes a leader because he is a little smarter.